

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 7566

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EGEN, PFOR, ETRD, EFIN, ENRG, COMECON, UR, RO

SUBJ: ROMANIAN VIEWS ON CEMA: MOSCOW PERSPECTIVE

REF: BUCHAREST 2253 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: PUBLICLY THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT APPEAR TO
BE PUSHING CEMA ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AS DRASTICALLY AS IS
BEING ALLEGED IN THE ROMANIAN PRESS. BUT THE EMBASSY BELIEVES
THAT PRIVATELY -- IN CEMA SECRETARIAT MEETINGS AND PLANNING
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OPERATIONS -- INTEGRATION OBJECTIVES ARE EVERY BIT AS COMPRE-

HENSIVE AS ROMANIAN JOURNALS CLAIM THEM TO BE. CONSEQUENTLY, ROMANIANS HAVE REASON TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT EROSION OF THEIR ECONOMIC AUTONOMY THROUGH STEADY EXPANSION OF CEMA SUPRANATIONALITY OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS. END SUMMARY.

2. VIEWED FROM MOSCOW, THE ARTICLES IN ROMANIAN JOURNALS (CITED BUCHAREST'S REFTEL) OPPOSING INTENSIVE CEMA ECONOMIC INTEGRATION APPEAR AS REFRESHING OPPOSITION TO A MOVEMENT PICTURED IN THE SOVIET PRESS AS ESTABLISHED, ON-THE-RAILS OPERATION, A FAIT ACCOMPLI AGAINST WHICH ANY RESISTANCE MUST BE EITHER ABSURD OR AN ACADEMIC EXERCISE. ON THE OTHER HAND, MOST SOVIET PRESS COVERAGE OF CEMA, WHICH IS INCREASING NOW THAT THE JUNE 24TH COUNCIL MEETING IS LESS THAN A MONTH AWAY, DOES NOT PUSH OFFICIAL INTEGRATION GOALS IN THE STRONG TERMS ALLEGED IN THE ROMANIAN PUBLICATIONS. THE EMBASSY HAS, FOR EXAMPLE, NOTED NO MENTION OF "A MOVEMENT TOWARD A SINGLE INTERNATIONAL PROCESS OF PRODUCTION INTO WHICH THE NATIONAL ECONOMIES OF PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES WOULD DISSOLVE, GRADUALLY LOSING THEIR IDENTITY," AS STATED IN BUCHAREST'S ERA SOCIALISTA. NOR HAVE WE SEEN ANY REFERENCES TO NATIONAL ECONOMIES "DISSOLVING INTO A SINGLE AMORPHOUS UNIT."

3. COVERAGE OF CEMA IN THE SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS CONSISTENTLY PRESENTS THE SOVIET PUBLIC LINE ON INTEGRATION, A STYLIZED, REPETITIVE PATTERN WHICH ABOVE ALL AVOIDS ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT IMPLY OR LEAD TO DISSENSION AMONG "FRATERNAL SOCIALIST STATES." THERE ARE REFERENCES TO COMMON EFFORTS ON PLAN COORDINATION, TECHNICAL STANDARDIZATION, MULTILATERAL COOPERATION FOR MASSIVE RAW MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS--NATURAL GAS, ASBESTOS, IRON ORE--IN THE USSR. AND THERE ARE ALSO OCCASIONAL REFERENCES TO THE "INTERESTED COUNTRY PRINCIPLE" UNDER WHICH NO CEMA MEMBER COUNTRY IS FORCED TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY PROJECT OR CEMA ORGANIZATION IF IT DOES NOT WISH TO DO SO.

4. MOVING AWAY FROM THE PUBLIC FACADE, IT NEVERTHELESS SEEMS PROBABLE THAT SOVIET AND CEMA SECRETARIAT PROPOSALS MADE IN MEETINGS AND IN CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS ARE MORE SPECIFIC, MUCH TOUGHER AND MUCH MORE OMINOUS FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF SMALL EAST CONFIDENTIAL

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EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WISHING TO MAINTAIN SOME MEASURE OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE. OCCASIONALLY SMALL INDICATIONS OF THIS TOUGH "MACRO-INTEGRATION" POLICY APPEAR IN ARTICLES IN THE SOVIET ECONOMIC PRESS. ONE RECENT EXAMPLE IS AN ARTICLE IN SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA ON THE NEW CEMA ELECTRIC POWER ORGANIZATION, INTERELEKTRO, IT CALLS FOR THE ABOLITION OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY STANDARDS FOR THE PRODUCTION OF ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT AND--EVENTUALLY--THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIFORM PRO-

DUCTION FOR THE ENTIRE "SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH." THE ARTICLE
IMPLIES THAT REAL PROGRESS IS EXPECTED TOWARD THIS OBJECTIVE
DURING THE NEXT FIVE YEARS.

5. IT SEEMS CLEAR IN SUM THAT THE ROMANIANS HAVE CAUSE FOR
CONCERN. ALTHOUGH THREATS OF CEMA SUPRA-NATIONALITY TO THE
DETRIMENT OF ROMANIAN AND OTHER EE COUNTRIES' ECONOMIC
AUTONOMY MAY NOT BE SURFACING PUBLICLY IN SOVIET MEDIA, WE HAVE
NO DOUBT THAT THEY FORM A PART OF CEMA SECRETARIAT
LONG-RANGE PLANNING AND WILL EVENTUALLY BE BROUGHT INTO VIEW
WHEN THE SOVIETS FEEL THE TIME IS APPROPRIATE. SHOULD
THERE BE ANY DOUBT ABOUT SOVIET ABILITY TO MANIPULATE CONTROLS
IN CEMA, THE RECENT "SPONTANEOUS AND UNANIMOUS" CEMA EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL DECISION TO RAISE OIL PRICES ONE YEAR AHEAD OF SCHEDULE
SHOULD PUT THEM TO REST.
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